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NEW LIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF THE ELEVENTH DYNASTY.

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The preceding important stela, communicated by Mr. Pier, is especially welcome, as dating from the obscure period of the Eleventh Dynasty, from which so few monuments have survived. Indeed, it is the only biography of the kind known to us from this dark epoch. It furnishes us with the first known succession of the kingdom from father to son in the Eleventh Dynasty, with the limits of the kingdom under Wahenekh-Intef, with the means of dating this king precisely, with the name of a new Intef, and with some interesting details in the administration of a chief treasurer in this small kingdom of the upper Nile, before it gained Lower Egypt.

Thethi, whose autobiography occupies the upper portion (ll. 1-14) of the stela, was chief treasurer under two successive Intefs, and he narrates his career under each in succession. The narrative is not easy; it contains a number of administrative and conventional uses of words which it is difficult to penetrate. Moreover, the text is in places uncertain. Hence the following is offered only as a preliminary study of the interesting document, which may be of service until an exhaustive study of the original itself is possible.

Thethi's tale of his life is as follows: *

¹[Live] Horus, Wahenekh, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of Re, Intef (I.), fashioner of beauty, living like Re forever.

His real and favorite servant, having an advanced seat in the house of his lord, great and favorite official, knowing the private affairs of his lord, following him at his every going, ¹great¹-hearted²—in very truth, head of the grandees of the palace, in charge of the seal in the privy office, one whom his lord trusted more than the grandees, one who delighted the heart of Horus (the king) with that which he desired, favorite of his lord, his beloved, chief treasurer, in charge of ²the privy office which his lord loved, the chief treasurer, the first under the king, the revered, Thethi, saith:

* In the translation [¹] enclose uncertain words; [] enclose restorations; one - indicates one word, two -s indicate two words, etc. Dots denote omissions.

"Then when his son assumed his place, even Horus, Nakhtnebtenefer, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, son of Re, Intef (II.), fashioner of beauty, living like Re forever, I followed him to all his good seats of pleasure. Never did he ^r a thing therein, because of my great wisdom. He gave to me the function ¹⁴which I had (lit. was with me) in the time of his father, making it to prosper under his majesty, there being nothing lacking therein. I passed all my time on earth as first under the king, his subject, while I was mighty and great in the sight of his majesty. I was one fulfilling his (the king's) character, whom his lord favored every day."

Wahenekh-Intef is the well-known Intef of the dog-stela^a at Cairo. On that stela his northern boundary is likewise given as Thinis; the new stela adds also the southern, which unfortunately I am unable to locate. Someone more familiar with the geography of the south may be able to identify it. The question arises whether the "Northland" (l. 5) does not mean the Delta as usual, and indicate that Wahenekh-Intef afterward conquered also the Delta. Against this are two conclusive considerations: First, as this stela was made long after Wahenekh's death, it is inconceivable that only the insignificant conquest as far as Thinis should be mentioned and the acquisition of the great north entirely omitted. Secondly, the king himself on his own tombstone relates with pride the conquest as far as Thinis, but makes no reference to any acquisition of the north. The apprehension of Wahenekh lest the tribute from the outlying shêkhs should fail is of interest, indicating, as it does, that he controlled the desert on the east side of the valley. It can hardly be a reference to the oases at this early date, though this is possible.

In Eduard Meyer's *Aegyptische Chronologie*^b I have attempted a reconstruction of the Eleventh Dynasty (reprinted also in the preceding number of this JOURNAL), in which I have placed two Intefs at the head of the dynasty. This new stela demonstrates the correctness of the conclusion that the dynasty began with two Intefs, but shows that the first of the two was not the nomarch Intef, as I inferred, though I stated in a note that it was immaterial to the reconstruction whether the nomarch Intef or a later Intef of the line stood at the head of the dynasty. Our new document shows that we must put Wahenekh-Intef at the head of

^a Mariette, *Monuments divers*, p. 49; cf. p. 15; Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, pp. 161, 162. A translation of the historical portion will be found in my essay, in this JOURNAL, Vol. XXI, p. 112.

^b *Aus den Abhandlungen der Königlich Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin, 1904, pp. 156-61.

the line, and that he was followed by his son, a new Intef, having the Horus-name: Nakhtneb-Tepnefer. This thrusts the nomarch Intef one generation farther back, and hence out of the list of the dynasty^a as given in the Turin Papyrus, which included but seven kings. It was therefore Wahenekh (who now becomes Intef I.), who assumed royal titles and honors, and became the first king of the line; but he never ruled north of Thinis, and the progress of the dynasty in gaining supremacy in the north also will have been as I have attempted to demonstrate in the aforesaid reconstruction.

In the light of the new document, the kings of the Eleventh Dynasty are now these:

Horus W'h-'nh-'Intf I. - - - -	50 + x years	} 2160-2000 B. C.
Horus Nht-nb-tp-nfr-'Intf II. - - -	x "	
Nb-htp-Mentuhotep I. - - - -	x "	
Vassal 'Intf III. (Relief at Shaṭṭ-er-Regāl) - - - -	x "	
Nb-hrw-R'-Mentuhotep II. - - - -	46 + x "	
S'nh-k'-R'-Mentuhotep III. - - - -	28 + x "	
Nb-t'wy-R'-Mentuhotep IV. - - - -	2 + x "	

The chronology of the dynasty, as I outlined it in the former reconstruction, is but slightly affected by the above changes in the first two reigns. As we now know that Wahenekh-Intef I. was the first king of the dynasty, and the length of the dynasty is given by the Turin Papyrus as 160 years, we can almost exactly date the accession of Wahenekh, placing it at about 2160 B. C. The stela of the Thinite official, Intefyoker^b (Leyden), dated in the thirty-third year of Sesostri I., of the Twelfth Dynasty—that is, in 1947 B. C.—states that his great-grandfather was appointed to office by Wahenekh-Intef I. According to our new stela, Wahenekh-Intef I., whose reign was not less than fifty years in length, ruled at least as late as 2110 B. C., and Intefyoker (living 1947 B. C.) may easily have had a great-grandfather who was appointed to office as late as 2110 B. C., that is, 163 years earlier. This is reckoning about forty years for each of the four generations from Intefyoker (inclusive) back to his great-grandfather. In my former reconstruction of the period, in which the date of Wahenekh was not settled as it now is by the new stela, I reckoned from thirty to thirty-five years to a generation.

^a As Eduard Meyer suggests in *Chronologie*, p. 161.

^b Leemans, *Descr. rais. des mon. Ég. à Leide*, pp. 264-66; Rougé, *Revue archéologique*, 1^{re} sér., VI, p. 550; Piehl, *Inscriptions*, III, XXI-II.